

T H O U G H T S

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D I F F I C U L T I E S A N D D I S T R E S S E S

I N W H I C H T H E

P E A C E O F 1783,

H A S I N V O L V E D T H E

P E O P L E O F E N G L A N D ;

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P R E S E N T D I S P O S I T I O N

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E N G L I S H , S C O T S , A N D I R I S H ,

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E M I G R A T E T O A M E R I C A ;

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On the Hazard they run (without certain Precautions) of
rendering their Condition more deplorable.

A D D R E S S E D T O T H E

R i g h t H o n . C H A R L E S J A M E S F O X .

B y J O H N K I N G , E s q ;

Plus habet in recessu, quam in fronte promittit.

Q U I N T I L .

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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
CHARLES JAMES FOX.

S I R,

I Humbly submit this Pamphlet to your profound consideration, because Fortune has decreed it in her caprice, that you will render this country either mighty services or mortal injuries. This I do not attribute to your abilities, which are rather glaring than solid, and calculated rather to startle than to make deep and favourable impressions, but to the nature and unhappy circumstances of the times, which intimidate genius, and keep back all but assured and audacious spirits, who may run any risks, because they have nothing to lose. Sallust says, "that bright talents, depraved by ambition, are more dangerous to the world than none." Such were *Catiline's* talents; strong, but terrible,

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because terribly perverted. He had great abilities; great accomplishments; I think, as great as any man—but wanted virtue: an admirable head, corrupted by a bad heart. Such is the difference between great sense and *sound sense*; and, consequently, between parts and wisdom; which implies not only parts, but the *direction of good parts to good purposes*. As able good men are the best men, a character too uncommon even where it most abounds; able bad men are the worst men; a character too common even where it is most rare. Men of parts, who will rather display them mischievously than not display them at all, only teach people to fear their parts and to hate their persons; for whatever disguises they wear, however they may deceive for a while, they will be discovered sooner or later, and then not only miss their aim of public admiration and worship, but meet with *infamy and public indignation*.

When you inform yourself who and what I am, (for I know you will inform yourself, and then pretend you never enquired,) you will be astonished that I should enter at all on political subjects, and especially with a man who has made it a science, or rather a trade; who had rather listen to me on *ways*
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and means, to raise temporary sums, than hearken to the best and wisest admonitions on the public weal.

I mean, Sir, to comply with what I know to be your constitutional disposition—avarice, the handmaid of profligacy. Since you spent your fortune, (which was the instant you got it, for it was all previously pledged, in a diversity of ways and to a variety of people,) your whole thoughts have been intent on ways and means; and your negotiations with Jews, your adventures at gaming-houses, and your struggles in Parliament, have all been upon the same principle of unbounded avarice, to serve an unbounded extravagance. In the heat of your declamatory orations, treacherous divulgations of private occurrences are interspersed; no confidence finds a security—nor is friendly intercourse a restraint to your tongue. The acclamations of factious partizans are the utmost, because the most profitable, plaudits you look for; and honour and moral rectitude easily become the victims to your inordinate vanity. I shall not imitate the conduct I execrate, nor unveil *your* secret transactions. There is not an usurer in London, Jew or Gentile, but shudders at

your name ; and the whole army of money-dealers fly at the first glance of your eye. Any thing that brings to your recollection the profligacy of juvenile years, is a sort of stigma on your present character ; for an uniform conduct has proved, that you was slightly vicious, because you was but slightly capable ; and that your depredations on the pecuniary tribe, was but the prelude to what you designed in a more ample field. The theatre of St. Stephen's was the great stage you had in your mind, and when opportunity offers, you never fail to discover the motive and principle that invariably influences your political conduct. When money is mentioned to you, the association of ideas links it to something else ; you frown, therefore, when the names of money-dealers are talked of, and readily join in the general obloquy they labour under. Money-dealers are the instruments which serve the purposes of two descriptions of men, who load them with the odium they have themselves incurred : the usurer would get illegal interest for his money, and would be unknown ; the spendthrift would obtain money, by proffering enormous doceurs, which he has no intentions of paying ; the broker is the scape-goat, who bears the sins of these men, who abuse each other in his person. As you
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understand this subject, and can discriminate between the man who deserves, but eludes, the ignominy, and the man who bears it without meriting it; as you understand the whole arcana, of first infatuating the avaricious with advantageous bargains, and eventually invalidating their claims, I would wish, through your means, to rectify the opinions of the public, in respect to the sources of all villainy in this business. The law favours the borrower and punishes the lender; of course, in every transaction made known, all obloquy falls on the person subject to punishment, but the guilt and infamy, in fact, and in nine cases out of ten, are with the borrower. A boy has scarcely left Eton, when he is initiated in all the mysteries of borrowing at high interest, and the mode of cancelling the obligation afterwards. There are greater sums of money made by *genteel sharpers* in this way, in one year, than by all the Jews and Jewish Christians, by usury, in ten; and you as well as I could point out numbers in this town, who have no visible means of spending five hundred a year, and who yet spend thousands, and are not much indebted to the dice-box for their resources. It is the knowledge which my profession has furnished me with, that I mean to make use of on this occasion, particularly

cularly in my address to you. The state and condition of all the principal families in this kingdom are known to me.—The reasons that mercantile adventures are become desperate games, that patriots are become corrupt, and that you have quitted paff dice for orations in Parliament, are also known to me; but though distress is daily presenting itself to me in various forms, my feelings are not yet reconciled to its appearances, or hardened against its moans; I cannot hope to aspire to that apathy to public misfortune, which seems to mark your towering ambition,

The state of the times is better known in the *practice* of some professions, than by any other means. The reasons of applications to me for the sale of estates, are very different lately from those which actuated them before the war. Dissipation and vice were the reasons then, however veiled by pretences; now, vice is starving as well as virtue, and half the business of agents, who actually understand it, is to break down and liquidate the fragments of men's fortunes, and to pack them up for America. If any thing could impress your heart of adamant, if any thing could dissolve the acrid humours of your nature into tears, it would be the tales I daily hear
of

of the general condition of the middle rank of people, who can no longer live here in decent mediocrity, and who (most of them) are going to sacrifice themselves and their families in ill-concerted schemes in America.

As patriotism, as well as pharo, is with you a game at cards, differing only in the nature of the stake, I wish you to attend to the suggestions I shall give you in the following pamphlet, that they may be played by you to advantage, and may benefit the public, while they help you upwards—for if the former circumstance is not subservient to the latter, I know you will not move a step in the public cause. Indeed, when I consider your character, I cannot help wondering at any species of confidence which is placed in you. But history abounds with such absurdities. Cæsar, as much superior to you in abilities, as I hope he has been in public mischief, begun by being popular. Mr. Gordon, in his discourse on *patriots* and *parricides*, says, he gained all his power by popularity; he gained all his popularity by acting the patriot; and usurped patriotism on purpose to usurp the empire. Nor was this proceeding peculiar to Cæsar. It was the constant art and armour of all preceding parricides; and by it they

they covered and recommended themselves always with too much success to the credulous many. In truth, the efforts of frauds, and managements of such parricides (for many such there were) make a great part of the Roman history, from the foundation of the republic, to the last period of Roman liberty. Cæsar had parts equal to any of them, though not superior to some of them, with greater opportunities, and more success. They had all pretended to be public *benefactors*; warm advocates for the *people*; zealous patrons of Liberty. Their fair professions, false bounties, and boasted patriotism, were *echoed with their names*, loudly among the populace. Then followed their popular direction and sway—*deceitful speeches—inflammatory invectives*;—pleasing and pernicious laws; with all attempts to improve popular frenzy, and by the cry of liberty to establish tyranny. *Catiline* followed the same road, and perished in it. Cæsar got to the end of it and perished afterwards. By the *cry and assistance of the people*, he baffled Pompey and the senate. By an army *procured for him by the people*, from the state he enslaved the people, and usurped the state: he made them giddy with the *sound* of liberty; and whilst they

they were under that infatuation, snatched away the substance.

You have tumbled down Lord Shelburne, a man who would be as dangerous as you are, if he had equal abilities—his inferiority he does not reckon a fault, but his misfortune—*I know the man full well*, and though I believe with all the world, he has not one virtue, yet he has a spirit of *mild malignity*, and of *moderate mischief*, compared to your malevolent and turbulent disposition: he made a peace, which was necessary to the nation; and though he employed contemptible and incompetent agents, (because few of any other description would serve him) the terms are, on the whole, as advantageous as the deplorable and humiliating condition of this country could have presumed to expect: these preliminaries I attribute to you, and not to him—for you held him (to use a common phrase) as a toad under a harrow—he laboured incessantly to avoid your fangs, but you were intent and determined on his destruction—and *he is gone, it is hoped, for ever*.

As you seem likely to have great weight in the affairs of this country, I want to find some principle in your mind that may induce you

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to pay attention to the subject of this pamphlet. Perhaps if a virtuous industry was to be encouraged, such men as you would be banished from the land ; but as a spirit of universal gambling has taken place of industrious and virtuous merit, both in political and common life, I think you must remain conspicuous and of the highest importance. The figure you made in the late debates on the peace, was such as would have startled an infernal assembly ; for you reconciled contradictions ; avowed defection of principle ; proclaimed your necessities as reasons for your being employed, with an audaciousness that exceeded mortal depravity : the House seemed to acquiesce under a torrent of vociferous words, and you was hailed as Satan on the burning lake, the leader of the next pestilential band, which is to pillage the indigent of this country.

It is in this capacity I apply to you : I do not mean that it is in your power or inclination to restore the occupations of trade and commerce, which might recover the faded lustre of the nation. But you must be abandoned to your selfish views on this country if you do not attend to the present state of property, and present spirit of emigration.

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If you consider the people of England as so many patient asses, to be burthened and tormented to gorge successive and ravenous administrations; still there is an interest to the narrowest avarice, in making it possible for them just to live, and to yield support to those who can obtain the good fortune of being their masters.

With this view I submit the following thoughts to your consideration, and subscribe myself,

Your humble Servant,

No. 53,
 Man-street, Scho.

JOHN KING.

SEC-

S E C T I O N I.

Condition of ENGLAND at the Peace
of 1783.

I DO not mean here to consider the political state of this country, but as it arises out of the condition of its property and trade; these being the objects which have principally occupied my attention, I may be qualified to speak on them.

Previous to the unnatural disjunction with America, the general balance of trade was so much in favour of England, that those who regarded the accumulation of money were overwhelmed with a variety of opportunities of gratifying their avarice, and prodigals found such facility in raising the sums they wanted, that it allured and precipitated them to destruction. Those who had estates in possession or reversion, sunk them irrecoverably; and the moonshine 'squire, who had no real property, borrowed on pretended or ima-

imaginary contingency, and made his exit in a gaol, or at Tyburn. It was the facility of obtaining money that drove our degenerate nobility to the gaming-table, or transferred their estates to their faithless stewards; and it was a similar cause, that brought the famous Dr. Dodd to a melancholy ignominious end.

When the war broke out, almost all the property of the nation was held in a suspended state between usurers and spendthrifts. The sudden ruin of the Roman republic, and the establishment of monarchy, or a perpetual dictatorship, did not occasion a greater revolution in the wealth of that empire, than this period did in England. The trade in the neighbouring and distant nations, which had poured in an inundation of wealth, was quickly exchanged for gambling at the Treasury. The quantity of wealth in the nation was greater, and it appeared astonishingly greater than it really was, to those whose short-sighted sagacity mistook* the loans to government as signs of prosperity; when, in fact, they were fatal symptoms of a most rapid decline; for the people were so habi-

* Vid. Sir James Stuart on Loans and Taxes, vol. II.

tuated in the prevailing spirit of gambling, that the minister might have amassed all the wealth of the country, while he gave exorbitant premiums for it, though he paid the interest by the most oppressive taxes. In the mean time, the property of the nation was gradually changing hands; ministers, and ministers secretaries, generals, commissioners, admirals, and a whole list of needy vermin, that had long been grovelling about the earth, and waiting the distress of their country, to raise their own fortunes, were accumulating immense sums, at least of ideal property; while America, though whole multitudes of her inhabitants were mowed down by the war, was gradually coming into possession of the circulating coin she so much wanted. In the mean time, industry was languishing at home, and population decreasing; every branch of trade, and every pursuit of commerce were suspended: the eagerness of the minister to supply the exigencies of an unpopular war, and the sordidness of a few wealthy miscreants, to increase their property, by furnishing him, was almost the only traffic of England. The assiduous trader, and respectable merchant, were forced to be idle spectators of the gloomy scene, which the once flourishing city exhibited, being under the necessity
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either to join in the desperate game of the minister's manœuvres, or patiently wait the renovation of commerce. Here I must observe, that to display a talent of sophistication, or to favour the views of ambitious patrons, some men of literary reputation have scandalously twisted and entangled this subject by their controversies. Dr. Price *, to serve the designs of Lord Shelburne, wrote several pamphlets to dishearten and degrade the nation; to prove by indirect indications, that none could retrieve the declining grandeur of this country, but men of trans-atlantic sentiments: experience has shewn the vanity and presumption of the implication; the jesuitical temper and puny abilities of Lord Shelburne has proved, that his fantastic systems and idle theories, were but the wild creatures of a designing imagination, which, reduced into practice, bewildered and confused what was already sufficiently intricate and distracted.

I venture to suspect this connection, because since the accession of Lord Shelburne into power, one Morgan, a needy relation of the pious and melancholy Doctor, is unnecessarily provided for. Dr. Price, who is silent in cir-

* Vid. Price's Pamphlets on Population, on the National Debt, and on Civil Liberty.

cumstances really alarming, and when no sinister motive stimulates him to write, was incessantly ringing the knell of despair in our ears, while Lord Shelburne was unemployed: the noble peer studied elaborate harangues, to terrify the listening assembly; and the hypochondriac Doctor endeavoured, by mathematical axioms, or by logical syllogisms, to shew the dangerous consequences of an encreasing national debt, and the desponding degree to which trade and population had gradually sunk; but as soon as the real end of this species of patriotism was answered, the nobleman was silent, and the Doctor dropt his pen.

The Rev. Mr. Howlet, Mr. Wales*, the mathematical master of Christ-church-school, and Chalmers†, (whom I suspect to be a sinecure incumbent,) have all maintained opposite opinions to Dr. Price; and the ground they have chosen is well adapted for eternal controversy, but will never lead a step to the discovery of truth; for, as to population, they have derived their knowledge from partial enquiries and informations; and, in

* Vid. Howlet and Wales on Population.

† Chalmers's Estimate of the Strength of Britain.

respect to trade, they found all their sapience on the Custom-house entries. If government had not been well informed, the general opinion of Dr. Price, concerning population, was true, though his manner of ascertaining it was absurd, measures would have been immediately taken to establish the contrary opinion; for the bishops (always at the devotion of the ministry) might have issued an order to all the clergy in England, which, in one month, would have settled a point that so many profound gentlemen have been wasting their brains upon for many years. When philosophy has abated the furor of fanaticism, and liberal learning teaches only truth; when deism is not only introduced into our histories, essays, and dissertations, but publicly taught in our pulpits; a deistic preacher erecting a deistic temple in our metropolis: it would be wonderful that superstition should not totally subside. It is not to be imagined, therefore, the people would scruple to be numbered, especially as this superstition may be referred to the Jewish nation; for the Jewish laws and traditions were abrogated by the Gospel, before the Gospel was rendered unfashionable by the deists.

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Though administration wear the mask of religion, to keep up their popularity, yet the profligacy of their private lives plainly discovers their real opinions; and their affectation of yielding to the public prejudice, in not numbering the people, is a proof with me, that they were well informed, that population decreased throughout the whole island, though the Bishop of Chester* pretended to find things differently circumstanc'd in his particular diocese. Whatever checks industry, decreases population; whatever renders difficult the maintenance of a private family, has the same effect on the whole nation; and abundant causes of this kind have not been wanting, since the commencement of disputes with America.

The state of trade does not admit of a dispute; for the use made of entries at the Custom-house, to prove its increase, are fallacious and reprehensible. Many of those millions sent to America to maintain our troops, produced entries at the Custom-house of goods, provisions, &c. which were all, in reality, dead losses to the Public at large, though they appeared in the books as advantages in

* Vid. Dr. Porteus's Account of the Increase of Population in Cheshire.

trade: these appearances were deceitful; for the money we received for our goods, was the very money we had already sent to support our troops; so that as the Custom-house entries augmented, our losses were enhanced; though, to the undiscerning, it had the contrary appearance. The gains derived by this destructive traffic was acquired by ministers and contractors; for the oppressive contributions, furnished by the nation to support the distant troops, reverted into their coffers; the country was thus fleeced of its riches and drained of its produce, while some people fancied their commerce prosperous and profitable.

Delusive and disadvantageous as this commerce was, the discontinuance of it seems replete with mischief and inconvenience; for when the armies and navies, which furnished this species of trade, are given up, the people employed to supply them lose their occupations, and an inundation of soldiers and sailors will pour in among the people, to add to their distress, and participate of their miseries; the faithful veterans, who have fought and conquered in defence of their country, can find no reward for their valour, nor even a scanty subsistence for their families, and
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the hapless war they have supported, has consigned them to distress and ruin.

These melancholy effects are already felt throughout the nation, and a general spirit to *emigrate to America, or the Indies*, pervades the whole class of the middling people;—I will consider the temptations which are held out in both these places to the oppressed inhabitants of Great-Britain,

SECTION II.

Of the EAST-INDIES.

WHEN I approach this country, even in imagination, my cheeks feel a glowing shame at the degraded name and character of an Englishman; my fancy sees the sun-burnt coast swarming with the mournful spirits of the oppressed and famished natives, imprecating vengeance on their fordid and inhuman tormentors; myriads of pale spectres, starved by artificial famine, shock my busy fancy; and the once peaceful plains, hallowed by a venerable religion and learning, seem strewed with unhappy victims. Among them I see the towering shade of Pigot, indignantly pointing to the fatal soup-plate*, his majestic shade regretting to have

* Lord Pigot eat heartily of turtle soup a few days before his death; of which Stratton, Mackay, &c. used to say he was very fond. In a hot climate *it was natural* it should produce a fever, &c. &c. &c.

fallen a victim to the treachery of despicable adversaries. He calls on the name of Mansfield ; but an English judge must have express evidence, for Justice is blind. An English jury, in the case of Donellan, condemned the guilty villain on indisputable presumptions ; but the horrid business had been perpetrated in the neighbourhood, and every juryman felt as a neighbour :—stronger presumptions, and more accurate evidences from India, would not warm and affect an English jury, nor engage the feelings of a judge ; and Asiatic offenders not only escape justice, but add infection to our corrupted Boroughs—dishonour our British Senate—and after acts of atrocious delinquency, and with hands yet reeking with Indian blood, take their seats among the representatives of the nation.

This impunity of peculators and criminals, the oppressions exercised in trade, by the wretched instruments of an injudicious and impolitic monopoly, has roused the whole peninsula of Hindostan ; the surviving remains of a half butchered and famished nation, begin to revolt against their unnatural invaders, and they look only for a convenient season to effectually extirpate the whole race
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of European monsters. Hyder Ali would be universally hailed the deliverer of his country, if his ambitious and selfish character was not understood, and the Marhatta powers were not aware, that assisting him to overwhelm the English, would be only exchanging tyrants. Hastings's wisdom and policy, and the conduct and bravery of Sir Eyre Coote, have suspended the fate of the company; but the endeavours to supplant and succeed them by powerful, but necessitous sycophants at home; and the terms of a peace, which afford such opportunity to the French of being *useful* to their allies; make it probable, that the cup of vengeance is rapidly approaching the lips of the English: their rapine, their ingratitude, and their barbarity, seem ready to be retorted with accumulated severity: would to heaven, that every guilty *Nabob here*, was sent to participate in India of the impending punishment!

India, however exhausted with private oppressions and public wars, is still the dernier resort of all the desperate and profligate: a cheesemonger's boy metamorphosed to a general officer, Stratton, Sykes, Rumbold, and innumerable others, springing from filth and crimes, into elevated situations and splendour

did fortunes, are vicissitudes that have maddened the brains of tradesmen and mechanics. When indolence or extravagance has reduced men to indigence, Asia is the magnet that attracts their hopes and views ; to reach India, and to create sudden fortunes, seems but one and the same thing. The astonishing and rapid *revolutions* in Asia, has determined men and women to try whether they were born the children of fortune ; and an abandoned infatuated tradesman here, transported his daughter to the torrid zone, and to the lecherous embraces of old Mackay, because she could obtain no other passport ; and when the antiquated debauchee came to answer the charge of Pigot's murder, he engaged to return to India on the same terms with the second daughter : the accursed father had agreed to the shocking bargain ; but providence counteracted the design, by the sudden death of the aged sinner : as inordinate and criminal passions were his offences through life, so did they in the end become his punishment ; for, to cherish his unnatural gratifications, he had pursued the dictates of Graham, till *æther of cantbarides* occasioned his dissolution.

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There are other projects, equally infamous and atrocious, that have come to my knowledge, and it may be presumed, that they are numberless; for men who have worn out their fortunes and their credits here, have no alternative, but a voluntary transportation, or a perilous hazard at home. Women, who have no pretensions to a settlement, from a want of beauty, of fortune, and of virtue, look there, not only for an asylum from distress, but as to a theatre of splendid success, where, with tolerable address, and a promptitude to villainy, they must obtain the summit of their expectations. When I describe these flattering allurements of India, I do not mean to glance at the exalted characters of Colonel Tarleton and Mrs. Robinson: the redoubted hero, who had the art, by wild excursions and Quixote expeditions, to acquire a fame without deserving it, must be a fit tutor and companion to the heir apparent of Britain: he may teach him all he knows, by manœuvres on Blackheath, and feats of horsemanship in St. James's street; this will ensure him popularity, and engage the affections of his future subjects; while the aspiring Jezebel, in the violation of hymeneal bands, may infuse an inflammatory spirit in the royal blood, no less important to his health,

health, than the precepts of her paramour to his mind. Mourn, ye inhabitants of Albion, when the unhappy period shall arrive, that shall waft this renowned couple to the sultry plains of Asia !

The intent of these observations is to shew, that India, as the affairs of it are managed, does not hold out any prospects of relief to this country, as a nation, in its present distressful situation : that it is, in general, a receptacle for desperate and abandoned adventurers ; and the industrious and valuable part of this nation is injured, rather than benefited, by the East-Indies. The method of changing the face of things in that country, is a subject of too great magnitude for me even to suggest hints upon at this time. The East-Indies will prove a millstone round the neck of England, or a golden basis to erect her prosperity upon, as she has recourse to wise or weak measures in her future plan of governing it.

The allurements in India, however specious, are often deceitful : there only, those of a particular description thrive, and even they are frequently disappointed. A country wasted by depredation, and a people impover-

ished by repeated extortion, must send back its new oppressors as necessitous as they came: America is now the fancied land of milk and honey, that every distressed Englishman lifts his eye to; the wide extent of that continent seems to open new scenes and new hopes: I shall endeavour to shew, even here, their views may be deceived, and their expectations frustrated.

§ E C T,

S E C T I O N III.

A M E R I C A.

WE were told by a priest, professing Paganism in a Christian country, ten or twelve years ago *, that all the virtues were flying westward. Dr. Price †, while he was weaning our affections from this world, and fixing them on heaven, pointed to America as an intermediate place, a temporary asylum for the miserable inhabitants of Europe; the people are every where preparing to seek this favoured country, to enjoy that freedom and plenty which no part of European ground seems longer to afford them; but it is humanity as well as policy to warn them of the dangers, difficulties, and accidents which will destroy the greater part of those who emigrate to America, on the adjustment of the definitive treaty.

* Vide Williams's Essay on Public Worship, Patriotism, &c.

† Price's Sermons at Hackney.

The climates of America, under similar latitudes to those of Europe, are unfriendly to health and longevity, though the manner in which the settled inhabitants procure subsistence is favourable to population. To judge by the inscriptions on tomb-stones, the general period of human life is from forty-five to fifty: this must be ascribed to the pernicious effects on the human frame, from uncleared and uncultivated soil; and this effect works on the natives, with a surprising degree of uniformity: how may we imagine will it affect those, who, from their tenderest infancy, have been accustomed to clear and cultivated countries, when even the robust sons of that continent fall victims to the unwholesome vapours of uncleared ground, and a foul atmosphere? How will they operate on the delicate constitutions of a people enervated by indolence, and emaciated by disease? If England's moderate climate, and the most careful tenderness cannot preserve and lengthen the lives of its natives: how little calculated for such constitutions is the rude blasts of American winds, and the coarse sustenance of a laborious people! These are reasons for deliberation and caution, and sufficiently alarming

ing to deter those who mean to emigrate to America.

The condition of society varies extremely in the provinces of America from that of England; and the emigrants will find themselves egregiously deceived, in their expectations of ease and affluence: it is not a country matured and grown opulent by commerce; it is a new discovered land, occupied by ancient savages, and ravaged by late wars; for a century to come, it can require no more than mere labour on the soil; and it cannot suit the dainty sons of England, to cross the Atlantic for a scanty subsistence, earned by the sweat of their brows.

The government of America abounds with thoughtful and moderate men, inured to attentive industry, and to temperance; America has no kings, lords, and high-priests, whose devouring necessities might impel them to premature commercial adventures: in their present state of simplicity, the farmers are the people they want, and plain mechanics, for the works of necessity; their flourishing agriculture will yield a redundancy of heavy and rude superfluities, and the superabundant produce will teach the
necessity

necessity of exportation; but all this will be done principally by her natives, and dreaming foreigners may be obliged to return to their own countries to exercise that dexterity and skill which was not wanted among a rustic and industrious people. When Rome began to flourish, though she was dear to her own citizens, and the envy of surrounding nations, yet strangers could find no allurements to incorporate or dwell among the Romans; for the hard living and rigid discipline that made them great, made foreigners dislike them. Luxury and ease is what a voluptuous people seek, and they are to be met with only in nations grown rich by long prosperity, and happy and indolent by long peace. As peace and happiness prevail, and as liberty flourishes, so will the arts and sciences make their progress; but these cannot obtain any great consideration in the infancy of a new formed government, which may be disturbed and rent by the machinations of turbulent and aspiring leaders. The men who have applied to me to assist them in their departure, were persons who had formerly been employed in complicated branches of refined trade; persons who had suffered by imprudence and idleness; persons who sought to display their talents

talents where they could neither be admired or understood ; I speak from thorough knowledge and information, and I warn and apprise them, “ that they are not wanted in “ America ; and if they go there, they will “ be disappointed, neglected and perish.”

The emissaries of America say differently. They are dispersed through England, Scotland, and Ireland, to inveigle our husbandmen and mechanics ; at the head of these is the *good*, the *simple*, the *undesigned* Mr. Laurens ; and he has various subordinates employed in the same way, more active and diligent in their endeavours than Mr. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, or Colonel Fitzpatrick, in the intervals of their occupations at the gaming-table. After America, like a grateful child, has shaken off all connection with the Mother Country, she is *embowelling* the nation of her most useful inhabitants ; and should Lord Shelburne, Lord North, Lord Gower, Lord Carlisle, Lord Thurlow, Lord Ashburton, Mr. Fox, and his *immaculate* associates, and even the pompous offspring of Lord Chatham, be offered to Mr. Laurens for the use of America, he would at heart condemn the useless offer, though he would cant the rejection

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tion in an American compliment ; he would not take them in exchange for so many athletic negroes. A rising commonwealth can yet require no heads to plan out ways and means ; no inventions for fresh loans and new taxes. Laurens wishes them to remain here, to perplex and embarrass the state with cabals and contentions, in parcelling out power and places. If Laurens could people some district of America with our factious partizans, and patriotic impostors, unanimity and peace might again predominate ; but he seeks the quiet and useful members of the community, to establish and improve their manufactures : and thus on the restoration of peace, renders more essential injuries to England, than the most vigorous and expensive continuance of the war.

I have seen letters from people in various parts of the kingdom, from Scotland, and from Ireland, which shew the almost general disposition to emigration :—every one seems to have conversed with an American emissary, and to have been seduced by his insidious persuasions ; but woeful experience will in future convince such men, that the information they receive, was as authentic as that which recommended to royal favour

vour the illustrious Arnold, Galloway, and Fanning. The Americans, like the confederate bands of St. Giles's, are sincere among themselves, but deceitful and perfidious to all the world beside: this arises from many causes, and principally from a precise hypocritical religion; we have seen a tenet in Christian or Catholic doctrines recommending faith and attachment among its votaries, and deception and treachery to all others.

The finesse of Buckingham-house held American duplicity in contempt, and heightened its contempt when Lord Shelburne carried with him there the quintessence of Presbyterianism; but the whole junto was often duped by the meanest votary of American hypocrisy. The contemptible Hutton, house-keeper of the Moravian hotel, by affecting deafness, or blindness, or ignorance, or honesty, or whatever serv'd his purposes, wormed himself into confidence at Buckingham-house; and with greater interest in America than the power of the king of England could compensate, and in his soul attached to the American cause, he had the holy art to affect such attachment to the English ministry, as circumvented and blinded their utmost sagacity, and he was dispatched to

Paris, to found and delude Dr. Franklin; which duty he discharged as faithfully and effectually as he *intended*. Where is the sense and spirit of Englishmen flown? And where is the dignity of their ancestors? Are profligate and prodigal noblemen, or desperate and abandoned adventurers, to occupy our public offices, while the wary Americans are silently seducing from us our most respectable, and our most useful citizens? If she is determined to inveigle and betray Englishmen into her inhospitable land, let her ensnare those leaders of parties, whose abilities and eloquence have so long been a *bane to the state*.

In the insatiable avarice and profligacy of our governors, the people perceive an increase of their burthens; the scene continually changes, but no revolution promises alleviation to their distresses: needy candidates succeed to ravenous ministers; a destructive war is followed by a disadvantageous peace; and every one fancies, that America will yield him the ease and plenty that is so abundantly and so confidently promised.

What is to be done? every body cries,
 “ schemes of recalling ancient simplicity,
 “ and

“ and making mankind honest and virtuous,
 “ are beautiful speculations ; I admire them
 “ as much as any body, but not enough to
 “ believe them practicable in our degenerate
 “ age.” Those who are struggling for the
 emoluments of governing a declining coun-
 try and an oppressed people, would be more
 laudably employed in examining the incon-
 veniencies and sufferings that we see and feel
 every day, and to point out how far the bad
 might be avoided, and the good turned to the
 best advantage. Depopulation is as certain a
 mark of political diseases, as wasting is of
 those in the human body ; the increase of
 numbers in a state, shews youth and vigour ;
 when numbers do not diminish, we have an
 idea of manhood ; and of age, when they de-
 cline ; something should be done to prevent
 the fatal consequences of this rapid decline.
 Nothing consistent with liberty can be done
 to prevent emigration. A general naturaliza-
 tion Sir James Stuart pronounces to be a
 leap in the dark ; for, however easy it may be
 to naturalize men, I believe nothing is so
 difficult as to naturalize customs and foreign
 habits ; and the greatest blessing any nation
 can enjoy, is an uniformity of opinion on
 every point that concerns public affairs, and
 the administration of them. When God
 blesses

blesses a people, he makes them unanimous, and bestows on them a governor who loves them, and who is beloved, honoured and respected by them; this, and this only, can create unanimity. At this rate, England must despair; if wise and good men were substituted for the base herd that has so long disgraced and injured a patient country; if disinterested and sincere patriots would come forward to drive off the stage the designing sophists, who confound the senses and corrupt the honesty of the people, the shackles of trade might be taken off, prosperity begin again to dawn; the commerce of the Indies, that has so long fed the passions of sensual Nabobs, might be laid open; a discouraging monopoly might no longer preclude an industrious people, while it fattened and enriched the luxurious invaders of the east, and gratified their licentious appetites; manufactures might be encouraged in every part of the country; duties would be lowered, and oppressive places and pensions abolished; our accumulated misfortunes might then begin to diminish, and leave the people a possibility of obtaining a comfortable subsistence. Taxes have been deemed a stimulative to industry; but when they increase beyond due proportion, they become fatal, and an insurmountable

able obstacle to it; the wretched labourer, whose utmost industry will scarcely earn a moderate livelihood, can but ill afford the rigorous deductions which a hard government has imposed on him. While America offers ease and abundance, and England deprives her subjects of the means of subsistence, she must become depopulated. Sir James Stuart says, “ I apprehend, that in
 “ man, as in every other animal, the genera-
 “ tive faculty is more than able to repair all
 “ losses occasioned by regular diseases; and
 “ I have shewn, I think, more than once,
 “ that *multiplication never can stop* but for
 “ want of food; as long then as the labour
 “ of man can contrive annually to produce
 “ the same quantity of food as at present,
 “ and that *motives* are found to make him
 “ labour; the same numbers may be fed,
 “ and the generative faculty,—which, from
 “ one pair, has produced so many millions,
 “ would certainly do more than keep up
 “ the stock.” The late mismanagement in England must have occasioned extreme depopulation, though the influx from Scotland and Ireland has recruited it; but these supplies may now be diverted to the new hemisphere: the strangers who flock to England, in hopes of gaining a livelihood, are
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counterbalanced by those, who leave it with the same intention. When Scotland and Ireland become exhausted by their emigrations to England, we shall then see our depopulation in glaring colours ; even veiled, as it now is, from the vulgar eye, the lords, the bishops, the commons, at least their representatives, are perfectly aware of it, though they adopt no measures to prevent the alarming consequences ; to seize the helm of a sinking state, and share in its wreck, seems the sole object of our nobility and popular leaders ; no one sincerely endeavours to save that country, for which generations of his ancestors fought and bled. If trade flourished and the labourer could live, he would not be seduced by the fascinating, though sometimes false colours held out by America ; he would not desperately go to clear woods, drain marshes, or cultivate rank soils, in an unhealthy country, nor waste his days in golden delusive dreams of East-India voyages. England, the seat of wealth, of happiness, and of liberty, would still retain its superiority, and its grateful citizens would retain their attachment. Laurens, Franklin, or Digges, would no longer be believed in their comments on English vice, or on its symptoms of approaching slavery. Donato Garrotti (say
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these hoary disturbers) was secretary to the state of Florence, while it was yet free; he would not bear even to live in it, when changed into a despotic principality, and subjected to the house of Medicis, though he was offered the highest dignities and advantages by the Great Duke; all which he utterly rejected, and retired to Venice, to live and die in a free city; he scorned to countenance tyranny, nor could he bear to see the consequences of the terrible change which had taken place; the best citizens exiled, imprisoned or awed, neglected and unpreferred; the worst carested and promoted, for being so; men of merit lost in oblivion and solitude; objects of jealousy, and useless to the public, gamblers, panders, and betrayers in high fame, and covered with honours. This, it is said, was a good spirit in Garrotti, and he made a proper choice. Philip Strozzi, the illustrious citizen of the same place, was so passionately fond of public liberty, and bore such an antipathy to slavery, that having tried all means of restoring the freedom of his country, without success, he ordered his children to remove his bones from his grave in Florence, and, carrying them to Venice, inter them there; to the end, says he, that

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since I had not the felicity to die in a free state, I may enjoy the favour after my death of having my ashes rest in peace, out of the reach and domination of those who have ruined my country. These sentiments, urged by American art, have the utmost effect in forwarding the emigration of the people; for the emissaries tell them, or they fancy, that the same arbitrary system is cherished in the English cabinet, and the same patronage is continued to the profligate and bad men, who first dismembered this mighty empire.

The best system of civil laws is now corrupted by the influence of politics—the judges who preside in our principal courts are natives of another, though a connected country; they were born and educated under a different jurisprudence from that of England; they still wear the prejudices of that education; the impressions so early and so invariably inculcated will never be obliterated; and being ambitious of high honours and splendid fortunes, they are always servilely attached to the court; and their adjudications, whenever they could be so contrived, have always been conducive to despotism.—Law has been stretched and twisted

as if there were no statutes to regulate it—the doctrine of equity has been informally introduced in courts of law, and the court of equity itself has fallen asleep.

The unhappy days of the Stuarts produced a Barebones Parliament, not more wretched and motley than the conventicle of actors, adventurers, and sharpers that we have seen preside in these days.—Chief judges, puisne judges, and even paltry justices, have forgone the dilatory custom of minute investigation, and summarily convicted or acquitted.—Lord Mansfield has assiduously endeavoured to discredit trials by jury, and curtailed and almost annihilated the province of their interference; while *they* have tamely forfeited their privilege of adjudication, and decided as the judge frowned or persuaded—bad means have been adapted to good ends, not to effect important and permanent good—but to become a precedent for future innovation and violence. The people have seen themselves reduced to intolerable indigence to maintain a ruinous war, and they have found that war succeeded by what is generally thought a dishonourable peace—taxes and extortions have accumulated with a rapidity

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which nothing could equal, but the proportionate decline of industry and commerce—though, in former days, the impost of ship-money threw all England into commotion, harder exactions have since been unremittingly imposed with impunity. The absurd and arbitrary doctrine held out to check the liberty of the press, would not be maintained in the barbarous government of Turkey—“That the truth of an accusation constitutes the guilt and enormity of a libel.”—In despotic governments, men are not allowed to write what they think; but the legal maxim, that truth is the essence of a political crime, was reserved for the discovery of the fertile genius of Lord Mansfield, and the disgrace of the law of England in the unfortunate reign of George the Third.

I will not follow Lord Loughborough through the various evolutions of his fortune, since he left (on a quarrel with another barrister) an unpromising station at the Scotch bar—he tried patriotism while it promised any thing in England, and quitted his pretended principle with so little decency and qualification, that the court soon noticed and marked him as qualified for its purpose,
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i. e. for any purposes by which he might be enriched and ennobled—he entered so warmly into all the insane and sanguinary measures of the American war, that he was soon gratified in his utmost wishes.—I will not detail his adjudications, censure his errors, or condemn his mal-versations, for I know that truths are libels in the Common Pleas as well as in the King's Bench—the influence of a judge on a jury is not unknown—and the use that Lord Loughborough must make of such power, on certain occasions, need not be described to those who have heard or been affected by his decisions.

The caprice lately introduced into the administration of the best code of civil laws that human knowledge ever framed, has troubled and confused the current of Justice, and added to the evils which pressed the people to emigration. This should be removed by the wisdom of legislature; but whether the present possesses wisdom or not, is extremely problematical. One branch of that legislature is approaching the last steps of dishonour, and perhaps the insidious policy of the court intentionally misleads it, that the people

ple may imagine it unnecessary, or that it is a morbid and infectious limb of the constitution, which should be amputated. It was thus that Denmark and Sweden were cajoled out of their liberties—the universal language in and out of the house of commons reflects dishonour on its character, integrity, and utility; and the stigma grows so great, that to be a member, will soon become an exception in the admission of a man to respectable associations.

In this house, the most abandoned, profligate, and unprincipled members, are the most importunate candidates for public offices—the choice of the sovereign, and the wishes of the people, are not regarded in clamorous struggles for *means of subsistence*, and *convenience of speculation*. Under these disadvantages, the people seek an asylum three thousand miles off, in the wilds of America.

To whom shall I address myself in the behalf of the worthiest subjects of the British empire, with whose interest and concerns I am involved?—To the king?—His throne is *besieged*, and if he does not find
means

means to silence the clangor of ravenous and desperate assailants, the outworks will be taken by storm—the loss of popularity is the effect of Scotch councils—if characters like Fox and his adherents, had been violently obtruded on George the second, violence would have been opposed to violence, and the united spirit of the nation would hastily have resented the insult and disgrace.

Can I apply to parliament—after what has been recently advanced—after what is daily said of parliament by its own members? And yet surely in this vortex of corruption, there are some individuals who wish well to their country. Where are the boasts of Sir Charles Turner? Not among the rack'd and oppressed tenants at Kirkleatham: a tyrant among his immediate dependants, must be a wretched patriot to protect a sinking people and a declining empire.

The long persecuted Wilkes, and Townsend and Sawbridge, are all gliding down the oblivious stream;—but from the efforts and disinterested perseverance of Lord Surrey, Sir George Savile, General Conway, and some few others, we may still hope a mitigation
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of the public distress; and we shall then perceive, that it is not the barren solitary tracts of America that allure the people to emigration, but the calamities they endure at home, force them to search abroad for relief, though in their random wanderings they plunge into greater hardships.

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